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THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SANGOULE LAMIZANA (lahmeeZAHna)
OF UPPER VOLTA

Monday, October 15, 1973

10:00 a.m. (30 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

I. PURPOSE

To demonstrate our concern for the welfare of the states of West and Central Africa currently suffering a severe drought and our desire, with others, to continue to assist in meeting the area's immediate needs and fostering its rehabilitation.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, and PRESS PLAN

A. Background :

President Lamizana came to the United States principally to address the United Nations General Assembly October 9 regarding the effects of the drought in West and Central Africa (sometimes referred to as the Sahel). He was mandated to do so in a September summit meeting with his fellow Chiefs of State whose nations are also affected -- Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger and Chad. At that same meeting, Lamizana was requested to contact friendly donor nations to discuss with them the situation in the area. It is in this context that President Lamizana asked to call on you.

President Lamizana's objective will be to give you a firsthand report of the consequences of the prolonged drought and an estimate of future food needs and long-term assistance requirements. He will wish to thank you for past US assistance (approximately \$47 million, mostly foodstuffs) and ask for continued assistance. He will want to report to you the results of the Chiefs of State meeting in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, September 10-12. At that meeting, the six Heads of State adopted recovery and development proposals which placed emphasis first on efforts to insure a speedy recovery from the drought's effect by increasing next year's harvest and secondly on seeking major financing for longer-term projects.

Your special coordinator for the African drought, Maurice Williams, attended the meeting. In his subsequent report to

DOS, NSS, reviews
completed.

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you (Tab A), Mr. Williams indicated that the donor representatives at the meeting considered the program proposals of the six Heads of State a positive statement of needs for planning and possible action. However, there are strong reservations that the necessary funds to carry out the area's ambitious plans (\$1 billion) will be available.

OMB Director Roy Ash should be sending to you momentarily a recommendation that you forward to Congress a budget amendment requesting an appropriation of \$150 million for disaster relief for Pakistan, Nicaragua and the Sahel. Should you wish to refer to this in your conversation with President Lamizana an appropriate talking point has been provided.

Since President Lamizana is meeting with you as a representative of several states, it is not believed he will raise the subject of US-Upper Volta relations. In fact, there are no major bilateral issues between us. Our political and economic interests there are minimal. US assistance to Upper Volta is in a regional context and has focused primarily on livestock improvement and grain stabilization. We have a small but highly successful Peace Corps operation there.

Upper Volta broke relations with Israel October 11 on the grounds that it could no longer maintain diplomatic relations with a country which claims it intends to conduct a non-offensive policy but acts differently. Nevertheless, we do not believe President Lamizana will raise the Middle East crisis as he would not wish to digress so far from the humanitarian nature of his mission. The Arab viewpoint prevails in the area, a predominantly Moslem region.

In view of the uncertainties surrounding the Middle East crisis, it has become necessary to reexamine the schedule of Mrs. Nixon's trip to the drought area. While staff planning proceeds, the trip has not been announced nor have we informed the host governments. Consequently, it is recommended that you not raise the subject with President Lamizana.

President Lamizana speaks French, but no English. He attended your dinner in 1970 for visiting Chiefs of State in the United States for the United Nations 25th Anniversary.

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B. Participants:

Henry A. Kissinger.

A. Jose De Seabra, State Department Interpreter.

C. Press Plan:

Press photo opportunity. The meeting has been announced. Ron Ziegler's office will give a press briefing on the results of the meeting.

III. TALKING POINTS

1. I would like to welcome you to Washington once again. I recall with pleasure meeting you at the White House Dinner in 1970 for the Chiefs of State visiting the United States on the occasion of the United Nations 25th Anniversary.
2. I appreciate that you have taken the opportunity of your address to the United Nations General Assembly to come to Washington to discuss the problems of drought that you and your five neighbors are facing. This is a subject that concerns all Americans and I would greatly appreciate your own assessment of the current situation in the area and future needs.

[In response President Lamizana will seek our help for the projects list which emerged at the September summit meeting of the six Heads of State, such as continued emergency food for some locations, the provision of seed and animal feed, the increase of village wells, national development needs, such as dams and reconstitution of herds, and, lastly, major regional projects such as dams, better communications, reforestation and weather modification.]

3. I have, of course, followed developments, especially through reports of Mr. Maurice Williams, my Special Coordinator for Drought Relief, and our views of the situation are similar to your own.

Under Mr. Williams' direction, we are involved in studies to determine what our role will be in the rehabilitation and the longer-run programs. As you know, we have allocated 100,000

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tons of grain assistance for the first three months of the Fiscal Year 1974. We will continue this assistance and will be consulting with you and others as to the level of need following completion of the food and crop assessment the Food and Agricultural Organization has undertaken.

4. In any case, I want to assure you the United States will continue to help, in conjunction with other donors, many of which have a long-standing interest in the region that we respect.
5. [If desired.] I will be sending to the US Congress shortly a special message requesting an emergency appropriation totalling \$150 million for disaster relief for Pakistan, Nicaragua and the Sahel. I hope that the response from Congress will be a positive one.
6. [If asked.] Until Congress has acted on this proposal, we will be unable to discuss what will be available for the Sahel.

(FYI - The budget amendment avoids earmarking specific amounts for each of the three beneficiaries in order to allow us to maintain maximum flexibility.)

7. In addition to the US Government assistance, the private effort in the United States, which thus far amounts to \$1.7 million, has been heartwarming. This effort continues. Mrs. Nixon is Honorary Chairman of a Desert Ball in Washington in late November to raise funds to assist in particular the women and children of the area.
8. I agree that scientific and technological advances might speed up solutions to some of the area's problems, but feel we must be careful not to expect miracles. Rain-making, for example, has not been the success many thought it would be, even in the United States.
9. We are gratified to be a part of the international effort to assist your recovery. As you know, we are interested in the independence and non-alignment of Africa and feel one tangible contribution we can make to achieve these goals is in our assistance programs. We also believe Africa needs concrete measures that have a real impact on its problems, such as the ones you are proposing for the rehabilitation of the drought area.

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10. [If asked about the Middle East.] The outbreak of hostilities over a week ago is a matter of most serious concern to us. We deplore that a costly war has again started and hope that it will end soon and in such a way that it will allow the parties to move toward a negotiated settlement.
11. [If President Lamizana raises the issue of river blindness.] We are very concerned about the economic and humanitarian aspects of river blindness. We expect to play a part in the multilateral effort to control river blindness and foster more rapid economic development in the region of the Voltan basin.

(FYI - Onchocerciasis -- river blindness -- is endemic to the Volta River Basin in West Africa. One million persons in the area are estimated to be infected and over 70,000 are totally blind, or have serious impairment of sight. As a result, large tracts of fertile land in the savannah area of the Basin cannot be opened to development. President Lamizana places a high priority on river blindness control. It is technically feasible to control river blindness, and a 20-year control program, costing \$120 million, is planned by the UN and the international donor community.)

Attachments:

Tab A - Maurice Williams' second progress report to the President.

Tab B - Memo for the President from the Deputy Secretary of State.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE ADMINISTRATOR

September 27, 1973

REPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Disaster Relief and Recovery Assistance
for Sahel Africa

My report to you of August 10 concluded:

-- that donations of food from the U.S. and other donors were adequate to meet overall immediate needs for survival in the drought and famine stricken areas of Africa,

-- that there were critical problems in the transport and distribution of food to people in some remote areas during the sixty days until local harvests of food in October,

-- that prompt planning for longer-term recovery was essential.

In response to your direction to assure the effectiveness of relief efforts, I visited the four countries of Upper Volta, Mali, Niger and Chad during the critical period September 8 - 21. I saw firsthand the drought devastation and human problems, and observed our relief efforts in action. I met with the Presidents and senior officials of these countries, as well as with the Presidents of Senegal and Mauritania. In discussions with the leaders of all six countries, I sought to assess future needs for emergency relief and for recovery.

My findings on relief operations follow:

1. The devastation and dislocations of the drought have been immense. These countries -- already among the poorest in the world -- have experienced staggering losses in crops and livestock. Great numbers of people migrated long distances in their desperate

search for livelihood and food. Families are separated. Many died along the way from hunger and sickness, particularly in remote nomadic communities where help did not reach them in time. Some two million people have been left completely destitute, without means of recovering their livelihood. Others can recover more quickly but will need help to do so.

2. Nevertheless, widespread starvation has been averted. Relief food and medical supplies from the U.S. and other countries are reaching those for whom they were destined in the cities, villages, and remote areas of Sahel Africa. Without our help, millions would have died of starvation. Emergency assistance from all sources has risen to about \$154 million, of which the United States alone contributed over \$47 million. (Annex A details the U.S. relief effort.)

3. As your representative, I received expressions of sincere gratitude for American help at every level, from Presidents to individual nomads. They knew, and made clear that they knew, that the United States was out in front in the timeliness and magnitude of its help, and in getting it to where it was needed. Major effective relief also was provided by the European Economic Community.

4. The Sahel countries will continue to need help on an urgent basis for at least the coming year. While the local harvests this October will relieve some of the pressures of immediate crisis, crops will be well below needs in most of the areas. Even where harvests are reasonably good, the availability of food for normal marketing will be a problem as farmers seek to rebuild reserves. Several million people are destitute and without means to purchase food.

Loss of income and extraordinary relief needs have exposed the budgets of these stricken countries to severe strain. The Sahel countries seek and need a continuation of food relief. We will know the precise scale of these needs for the coming year after completion of a field assessment now underway with the Food and Agricultural Organization.

5. As relief operations continue, it is important that the Sahel countries, and those who seek to help them, direct their efforts toward recovery measures which will reduce the need for future relief operations. The Presidents of the Sahel countries support this objective and welcomed our initiative. We have sent a special A.I.D. Task Force to the area to help design concrete programs of action to cope with drought-related problems and particularly to maximize production from the next crop, which will be planted in nine months.

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6. Nutritional problems, particularly for women and children, are a growing concern. U.S. epidemiologists from the Center for Disease Control have helped identify pockets of distress. In response we are supplying medicines, vitamins, blankets, shelter and specially fortified foods for these camps. More needs to be done to meet the minimum nutritional needs of women and children, and we are bringing this need to the attention of U.S. private voluntary agencies.

Increasing public concern in the United States, especially from the Black community, has been aroused by the plight of these people and their struggle to survive.

PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) waged a nation-wide campaign for food and medical donations, which with the help of A.I.D. are being transported to the Sahel. Africare, a promising new organization, has undertaken a public fund raising campaign. Other Black organizations helping include: the National Office of Black Catholics, Congress of African People, National Welfare Rights Organization and the African Studies Association.

A wide range of other voluntary agencies -- including CARE, Church World Service, Catholic Relief Service and American Red Cross -- also are actively engaged.

Recovery and Development Needs: Even without a drought, the development problems of the countries of the Sahel are formidable. There is a delicate balance between the capacity of the land and the needs of farmers and herders. The drought has tilted this balance drastically -- transforming a precarious situation into a calamity which has left deep scars.

Water resources have been depleted. Range lands have been severely overgrazed and may require years to recover. In a broad sense, the drought speeded up an already deteriorating ecological situation which must be reversed if the same kind of calamity is not to reoccur.

The Governments of the region have recognized the need to cooperate in recovery and development programs which seek to overcome the basic problems of the region. To meet this need

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they established the Interstate Committee of the six governments which met in Upper Volta September 8 - 12. I attended this meeting as your special representative.

Major decisions taken by the six heads of state include:

- declaration that the Sahel was a continuing disaster situation which would require the continued help of the international donor community.

- designation of President Lamizana of Upper Volta to present the Sahel's drought problems to the United Nations General Assembly.

- adoption of recovery and development proposals, which placed emphasis first on efforts to ensure speedy recovery from the drought's effect by increasing next year's harvest; and, second, on seeking major financing of longer term projects.

Donor representatives at the meeting considered the program proposals a positive statement of needs by the Sahel Governments for planning and possible action. Under Secretary Bradford Morse reaffirmed the desire of the United Nations to work in a coordinated way in meeting needs. The World Bank will make available special, flexible credits. Other major donors -- including the French, Germans, Canadians, and European Economic Community -- also offered to help.

I indicated U.S. willingness to help with both technical and material resources in meeting the region's needs. In particular, I pledged that the United States would engage its best scientific capacities to work with the Sahel Governments on their water and arid land problems.

Role of Research and Science for Future Development:

The African countries, and the international community, recognize that the problems of the Sahel require new approaches to development if the region is to become self-sustaining and avoid future disasters. In particular, it is necessary to approach the rehabilitation of the area with careful attention to protecting the natural resources of land and water which are crucial to development over the long term.

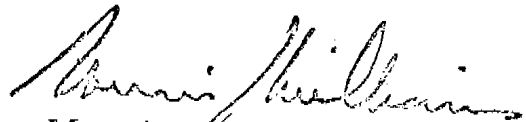
We have initiated special investigations of the development potentials of this region by engaging:

-- NASA to explore the use of such advanced technology as the Earth Resources Technology Satellite and Sky Lab to analyze from photos the cropping and water resource potential;

-- Massachusetts Institute of Technology to analyze major development options for this region;

-- the National Academy of Sciences to provide scientific advisory services covering a spectrum of disciplines during the recovery period.

We can be proud of the role played by the United States, and the rest of the donor community, in helping the stricken states of the Sahel meet their most urgent needs. Recognizing that the disaster crisis will continue for at least another year, we, and other donors, are continuing to cooperate with the drought affected nations, in the longer-term rehabilitation and recovery effort. Much has been done to help but much remains to be done.



Maurice J. Williams
President's Special Coordinator
for Emergency Relief to
Sub-Sahara Africa

SAHEL DROUGHT ASSISTANCE
United States Government Assistance

I. Total Assistance

Food Assistance (256,000 tons of cereals)	\$ 40,818,000
Other Emergency Assistance	<u>6,447,000</u>
Total	47,265,000

II. Assistance by Receiving CountryA. CHAD

Food Assistance, 8,000 tons of cereals	\$ 1,416,000
One month C-130 airlift plus materials for food air drops	172,200
Seeds, livestock feeding and emergency agricultural materials	<u>110,000</u>
Total for Chad	1,698,200

B. MALI

Food Assistance, 55,000 tons of cereals	\$ 8,438,000
Airlift by three C-130s for six months	3,159,000
Medicines, blankets, tenting materials and related needs of nomad refugee camps	219,900
Other emergency needs	<u>56,000</u>
Total for Mali	11,872,900

C. MAURITANIA

Food Assistance, 33,000 tons of cereals	\$ 5,035,000
Airlift by one C-130 to start October 1	100,000
Other transport costs	300,000
Medicines and related material for nomad groups	77,225
Provision of materials for water development	<u>125,000</u>
Total for Mauritania	5,637,225

D. NIGER

Food Assistance, 61,000 tons of cereals	\$ 10,672,000
Livestock feed and vaccines	505,000
Medicines and special foods	28,000
Support to Belgian airdrop	15,000
Agricultural improvements	<u>131,000</u>
Total for Niger	11,351,000

E. SENEGAL

Food Assistance, 45,000 tons of cereals	\$5,328,000
Livestock feed and vaccines	244,491
Other emergency programs	<u>75,000</u>
Total for Senegal	\$5,647,491

F. UPPER VOLTA

Food Assistance, 35,000 tons of cereals	\$6,094,000
Livestock feed and vaccines	281,000
Field Hospital (complete) and medicines	16,650
Special transport of grains	40,000
Well deepening program	<u>60,000</u>
Total for Upper Volta	\$6,491,650

G. REGIONAL AND OTHER

Other and Unallocated food assistance, 19,000 tons	\$3,835,000
Regional programs, support to U.S. voluntary agency programs, special survey teams, support of international agencies and other regional emergency programs	<u>731,534</u>
Total Regional and Other	\$4,566,534
Grand Total all U.S. Programs	\$47,265,000

SAHEL DROUGHT ASSISTANCE
Total International Contributions

I. Major Food Contributions

United States	256,000 Tons cereals	\$ 40,818,000 <u>1/</u>
European Economic Community	111,000 Tons cereals	11,100,000 <u>2/</u>
France	78,000 Tons cereals	7,800,000 <u>2/</u>
Canada	26,000 Tons cereals	2,600,000 <u>2/</u>
Germany	36,000 Tons cereals	3,600,000 <u>2/</u>
China	95,000 Tons cereals	9,500,000 <u>2/</u> <u>3/</u>
Russia	22,000 Tons cereals	2,200,000 <u>2/</u>
Other donors and concessional imports	100,000 Tons cereals	10,000,000 <u>2/</u>
Estimated value of contributions of foods by various bilateral and international donors: dried milk, CSM, etc.		3,000,000
Total Food Contributions and Imports		\$ 90,618,000
Total Quantity Food Contributions and Imports		724,000 MT

1/ Value of food plus ocean freight plus inland transport

2/ Estimated market value

3/ Includes 45,000 MT contributed through Chinese Red Cross

II. Major Other Expenditures for Disaster Relief Purposes

United States	\$ 6,147,000*
European Economic Community	22,000,000
Nigeria	3,750,000
Zaire	110,000
United Nations (Sahel Zone Trust Fund)	8,290,000
Kuwait	300,000
Libya	760,000
Total Cash Contributions	\$ 41,357,000

* Excludes \$300,000 U.S. contribution to Sahel Trust Fund.

III. Various Contributions in Kind

Belgium	- Airlift and financing of ground support
Canada	- Airlift and well drilling programs
France	- Airlift and support of country budgets
Federal Republic of Germany	- Airlift and ground support
Libya	- Airlift
Spain	- Airlift and ground transport
United Kingdom	- Airlift
USSR	- Airlift
Other	- South Korea, Taiwan, USSR and several other countries have made grants up to \$50,000 each to Upper Volta.
Estimated total contributions in kind:	
	\$ 22,000,000

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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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October 12, 1973

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Office Call by President Lamizana
of Upper Volta

You have agreed to receive President Sangoule Lamizana of Upper Volta for an office call on October 15 at 10:00. He is visiting the United States principally to address the United Nations General Assembly regarding the effects of the drought in west and central Africa, on behalf of five of his fellow Chiefs of State whose nations were also harshly affected - Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger and Chad. The region is referred to as the Sahel.

Lamizana, 58, a Lieutenant General, became President in a bloodless coup in 1966. He is a highly regarded professional soldier and a veteran of 27 years in the French Army. A quiet, solid, vigorous man, he has grown in personal stature and gained increasing confidence in managing the affairs of his desperately poor country. Upper Volta, with a population of over six million, has a GNP of about \$60 per capita. Its resources are limited and largely agricultural with a restrained export trade in peanuts and cotton. Its central location in the Sahel ecological zone, and Lamizana's good reputation led to the selection of Ouagadougou as the seat of a permanent interstate committee to coordinate the regional aspects of drought relief and rehabilitation follow-up. He was reelected the committee's President in the September meeting.

Lamizana attended your dinner in 1970 for visiting Chiefs of State who came for the United Nations' twenty-fifth anniversary.

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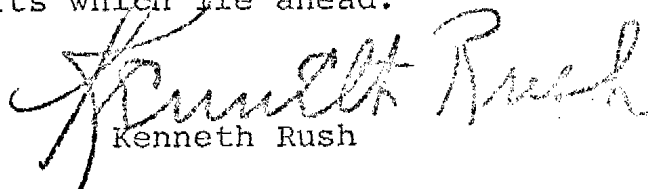
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Lamizana's objective is to make better known to the world the consequences of the prolonged drought and draw attention to the range of assistance activities for which the stricken countries are seeking outside support. During the meeting in Ouagadougou, September 10-12, he and the other Chiefs of State approved a list of rehabilitation projects totaling nearly \$975 million, including dams, other water control measures, range control, reconstitution of animal herds, improved crop storage facilities and similar needs. The Sahel Chiefs of State also agreed to seek a moratorium on external debt repayment (insignificant for the US) and to seek special consideration for their problems in the forthcoming negotiations for the renewal of the association agreement with the Common Market.

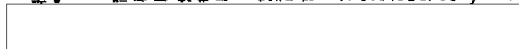
Lamizana is not expected to raise the Arab-Israeli war. He would not wish to digress so far from the humanitarian nature of his mission. The Arab viewpoint prevails in the Sahel, a predominantly muslim region. While the Israelis still have an Embassy in Ouagadougou, Lamizana's capital,*they have been expelled in recent months from Chad, Niger and Mali and their presence in Senegal is tenuous. Moreover, Egypt is a member of the African continent's political body, the Organization of African Unity.

Our objective is to demonstrate our sympathy for the suffering of the peoples of the Sahel, to note our extensive role thus far in providing emergency assistance (\$47 million) and stimulating others to do so, and to indicate our willingness to help in the continuing relief and rehabilitation efforts which lie ahead.


Kenneth Rush

Attachments:

1. Issues and Talking Points



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* Since this memorandum was drafted, Upper Volta has broken relations with Israel.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING PAPER

ISSUES AND TALKING POINTS

CALL BY PRESIDENT LAMIZANA

October 15, 1973, 10:00 a.m.

Issues

- There are no issues in contention between the US and Lamizana and his fellow Sahel Chiefs of State with respect to the drought question. They are aware of our major assistance effort and are grateful.
- However, reconstruction and longer range needs as conceived by the Sahel states are great - well beyond any likelihood of fulfillment by external donors. Lamizana may feel obliged to ask for major rehabilitation assistance, while your reply must be guarded since funding availabilities are not certain.

Points Lamizana Might Make

- Thank you and the American people for your generous and crucial assistance for the drought victims.
- Recall his attendance at your dinner in 1970 for Chiefs of State who came for the UN's 25th anniversary, and his great pleasure at meeting Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower who was also present. (Lamizana served with French troops under General Eisenhower in World War II.)
- Refer to the mandate given him by his fellow Chiefs of State at the meeting in September in Ouagadougou and to his address to the General Assembly on October 9 to draw world attention to the consequences of the drought and the vast needs of the area in restoring its economic base.
- Note that at the Ouagadougou meeting the Sahel region was declared to be a continuing disaster

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and consequently the interstate committee of which he was reelected head should continue its coordinating role.

- Note his responsibility to attempt to obtain special favorable development treatment for the Sahel in the next agreement between the Common Market and the associated states of Africa. A related measure is the appeal for a moratorium of ten years of the external debt of the stricken states, since their major resource base - the land and herds - has been deeply harmed.
- Refer to, and seek our help for a projects list which emerged at the September meeting, divided into: emergency needs such as continued feeding in some locations, seed, animal feed, and village wells; national development needs such as dams, ponds, and reconstitution of herds; and lastly regional projects involving more than one member nation such as large dams, better road and telecommunication links, re-forestation, and weather modification.
- Note the particular hope which he and his fellow presidents place in the scientific and technological capabilities which the US might possess to help with long run solutions to the ecological imbalance created by the encroaching Sahara, as illustrated by our satellite imagery and Skylab photos - the Skylab II crew took pictures of the Sahel.

Points Which You Might Make

- Welcome Lamizana to Washington and recall your meeting at your dinner in 1970.
- Assure him of the widespread sympathy in the US for the victims of the drought - a deep sympathy found in all levels of US society, in the Congress, and in the Administration.

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- Refer to the US emergency provision of food grains valued thus far at \$40 million (delivered value) and non-food aid such as transportation, animal feed, medicines, etc., valued at \$6.7 million. Recall that our US Air Force C-130's have been especially effective in airlifts in Chad, Mali, and soon in Mauritania. Indicate that you have followed developments through reports from Mr. Maurice Williams whom you designated your Special Coordinator for Drought Relief. (Mr. Williams attended the September meeting in Ouagadougou.)
- Refer to our ongoing, and intensifying, activity to establish food needs in the future and determine what our role will be in the rehabilitation and longer-run programs. Note that we expect that funding will be available to us to play our part, to be coordinated with the efforts of the other friendly powers, particularly the Common Market and France. Stress that they hold a long-standing interest in the region which we respect.
- Express particular sympathy for the women and children. They suffered the most of all of the drought's casualties. We are making special efforts to respond to their medical and nutritional needs as we find them in refugee camps. Note that Mrs. Nixon will be the Honorary Chairwoman of a special benefit for the women and children victims.
- Agree that scientific and technological advances might speed up solutions to some of the area's problems, but caution against the expectation of miracles. Rainmaking, for example, has not been the success which many thought it would be, even in the US.

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